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ABSTRACT

Addressing the dynamic and integrative nature of the world's press systems, this paper presents a comprehensive press theory and accompanying model. Three "primary motives"--survival, ideology, and market--are posited as determinants of press systems, using the nation state as the unit of analysis. The premises of the paper are: (1) press behavior and values are determined and identified as primary motives which are shared by society, government, and other national institutions; (2) nations and their press systems subscribe to three primary vocabularies of motive, one of which predominates at any given time; and (3) nations and their press systems vacillate continually from one prevailing primary motive in the direction of one or both of the other two. A triangle of motives is employed to illustrate how press dynamism may be conceptualized. Characteristics for press systems driven by each primary motive are cited and illustrated by case summaries. Eight figures are included; 31 references and a table listing characteristics of press systems are attached. (Author/RS)

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A DYNAMIC THEORY OF WORLD PRESS MOTIVATION:

AN INTEGRATIVE MODEL

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Abstract:

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A comprehensive press theory and accompanying model are presented that address the dynamic and integrated nature of the world's press systems. Three "Primary Motives"--survival, ideology, and market--are posited as determinants of press systems, using the nation state as unit of analysis. Premises are: 1) Press behavior and values are determined and identified by Primary Motives. The same Primary Motives are shared by society, government, and other national institutions; 2) Nations and their press systems subscribe to three Primary Vocabularies of Motive, one of which predominates at any given time; and 3) Nations and their press systems vacillate continually from one prevailing Primary Motive in the direction of one or both of the other two. A triangle of motives is employed to illustrate how press dynamism may be conceptualized. Characteristics for press systems driven by each Primary Motive are cited and illustrated by case summaries.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1956 the mass communication classic Four Theories of the Press appeared in print for the first time. Reprinted in 1963, 1973, and 1978 without revision, this landmark work by Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm has molded scholarly perceptions and guided academic inquiry into world press systems for more than 30 years (1973). As Donald Shaw and Robert Stevenson note, "This typology soon powerfully fixed itself upon the Western scholarly mind" (1984:134).

As the title suggests, Four Theories does not present a single cohesive model. Rather it suggests a four mutually exclusive types by which press systems in various nations may be typed. Three of them are drawn from historical models of government--authoritarian, libertarian, and Soviet communist. The fourth, social responsibility, is a philosophical latecomer, an American post-war concept articulated in the report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press (1947) and in a parallel elaboration by commission member William Hocking (1947).

Four Theories proposes a static model. Although the four types are chronologically presented, the authors do not suggest how a press system might evolve into or deviate from its designated type. Indeed, the nominal designations, particularly the Soviet communist, are blatantly tautological and suggest a rigidity that empirical observation refutes. For example, in light of current press reforms in the USSR under Mikhail Gorbachev, the obvious question arises, how does one categorize the Soviet Union's press system when it does not display the characteristics of the Soviet communist type?.

Understandably, the book bears the historical imprimatur of its times, both in its political and intellectual orientation. Published three years after Stalin's death, Four Theories is strongly influenced by post-war anti-communist attitudes and the

McCarthy Era in the United States. While noting the usefulness of the typology, Shaw and Stevenson observe, "The book...leaves little doubt as to which theories are "good" and which "bad." It obviously is an American study" (1984:135-136).

A similar conclusion is reached by J. Herbert Altschull, who notes in a critical appraisal of the book, "There can be little doubt of the good guys and the bad guys." Focusing specifically on Schramm's section, "Soviet Communist Theory of the Press," Altschull argues that the analysis is "hostile." "Its approach is within the us-versus-them framework that also bedevils the Soviet analysis of the American press," he writes (1984:108).

Thus Four Theories' primary utility has been the provision of a common, fixed system for categorizing the world's national press systems. At the same time, I believe, assumptions resulting from oversimplification and labeling have seriously restricted empirical inquiry and reinforced occicentric interpretation.

Although asserting that national governments and economies determine norms of press behavior, Siebert et al. do not attempt to integrate or refute functionalist perspectives advanced in preceding works by Talcott Parsons (1951) and David Easton (1953), among others. Four Theories is not informed by the interactive, holistic paradigm first proposed in Norbert Wiener's Cybernetics (1948), the heuristic value of which is illustrated in the massive body of theoretical and empirical literature it has generated in the social sciences in the past four decades. The book takes no cognizance of development theory and predates one of its more fruitful avenues, integrative world systems theory, first articulated by Immanuel Wallerstein (1976).

In an attempt to broaden and update the applications of Four Theories, William Hachten in The World News Prism (1981, 1987), has expanded the original typology to encompass five categories, which he correctly identifies as normative concepts, rather than theories. These five--authoritarian, Western, communist, revolutionary, and developmental--are less delineated than the original four and suggest some overlap. Hachten proposes that "all press systems exist somewhere along a continuum from complete

control (absolute authoritarianism) at one end to no controls (pure libertarianism) at the other" (1987:16). This hint of progression does not imply a linear dynamism, however, and, indeed, analysis quickly reveals that such a progression cannot be supported empirically. Hachten's most important contributions are a broader definition of what he identifies as the Western press concept and the creation of a conceptual framework that accommodates press systems in developing countries (1987:14-34).

In Agents of Power: The Role of the News Media in Human Affairs, Altschull makes a conscious and largely successful effort to avoid value-laden terms in his presentation of a three-part typology that consists of market, Marxist, and advancing press systems. The three movements, which he compares to a somewhat cacophonous symphony, parallel First, Second, and Third World designations and embrace "all the realities of the environments in which the press exists, historical, political, social, cultural, and--importantly--psychological." An important aspect of Altschull's typology is his insistance on points of congruence among the three types, shared "laws of journalism" or press roles (1984:279-299).

Robert G. Picard suggests a revision of the original four theories by introducing the Western press subtype, democratic-socialist (1982, 1985). He argues that a democratic socialist consensus in Western Europe is legitimizing increased government intervention in press affairs, rationalized as necessary to ensure plurality of press ownership, social accountability, and public access.

While acknowledging the utility of these typologies in exploring world press systems, I find their value is limited to describing "what is" with ever-proliferating categories. Derived from and defined by historical and geographical boundaries, both real and artificial, typologies fail to provide a theoretical model which enables us to probe into "why?" and "what will be?". Implicit in this argument is the assumption that the function of theory is not only to describe, but also to explain, relate, and predict.

As Shirley Biagi notes in her newly-published Media Reader, no existing theory is

"totally comprehensive" (1989:5). The absence of overarching theory is lamented more fervently by others, such as S. Jasperse (1979) and Thomas McPhail. The latter writes:

> Historically, American mass communication research isolated specific media purposes, messages, programs, and effects from overall social processes....Explanations about the specific communication data were seldom discussed in terms of the larger communication system or from a macro theoretical model....They did not see it as their function to interpret these facts and build grand theories about structural and systemic determinants of communication about them. The trend which started in the 1930s and is still alive today was toward a quantitative, empirical, behavioral science method as opposed to a highly conceptual, speculative, theoretical and philosophically or historically discursive approach in mass communication research (McPhail, 1981:75).

In this paper I propose a world press theory and accompanying model that address the dynamic and interactive nature of the world's press systems. This holistic paradigm is not antithetical to the existing typologies, but rather is inclusive of them. A major strength of the dynamic theory is that its perspective embodies a conscious temporal neutrality that is neither predicated on nor constrained by cold war assumptions. Thus the theory serves as an enabling tool for empirical analyses of past and present press performance and philosophy and also provides a framework for predicting future press behavior. Finally, I believe the theory sheds some productive light on the currently-tabled New World Information Order debate. More productive understanding is achieved by recognizing the logic or motivation supporting each side's arguments rather than by facilely attributing the conflicting positions to malice, greed, or self-pity.

In the first section I state three premises and present a triangular model for conceptualizing three "primary motives" as determinants of national press systems. Next I discuss press characteristics that commonly are associated with each primary motive. In the third section I use examples of national press systems and the motive triangle to demonstrate the theory's application.

Throughout the paper use of the term "press" is limited to the information gathering and disseminating functions of print and broadcasting media. "National press system" refers to the normative concepts that govern press purpose and performance within a single country.

PREMISES OF A DYNAMIC WORLD PRESS THEORY

To generate a theory that has explanatory and predictive capability it is necessary to identify determinants that go beyond economic, political, and social structures, all of which are culture-specific to each nation. This is not to deny the obvious relationship between these structures and press systems, but rather to probe deeper, in the hope of discerning what forces link certain cultural and press patterns. By accepting causal links as faits accomplis, we beg the larger question: why do certain press systems tend to co-exist with certain governments, i.e., with certain economic/political systems?

Hachten voices the view common to all of the typologies that

> all press systems reflect the values of the political and economic systems of the nations within which they operate. The trend toward internationalization notwithstanding, print and broadcast systems are still controlled and regulated by their own national governments (1987:16).

While not disputing the logic and supportability of this tenet, I argue that this assumption does not give sufficient weight to the reciprocal impact of the press on government policy and even upon government structure. If not equal, the influences between government and press certainly must be recognized as mutual. In addition, a third element must be taken into account. This is the people--the citizenry, consumer, audience--who are both subject and object of government and the press. Thus, our challenge is to try to discern the thread that unites press, government, and society into one cohesive and fairly consistent nation state.

The First Premise: Press behavior and values are determined and identified by primary motives. The same primary motives are shared by the people, the government, and other national institutions.

Shared motives are identified as the bond uniting the press with political, economic, and social structures in all nation states. "Motive," in this sense, is the term employed by C. Wright Mills in his famous essay, "Situated Actions and Vocabularies of Motive," to describe cohesive strategies for justifying action or behavior (1940). Other words which convey roughly the same idea as motive include philosophy, values, or guiding principles. However, motive carries with it the added dimension of challenge.

Philosophies, world views, and driving forces become motives when they are challenged and defended. Motives are conscious responses to behavior that is vulnerable to attack.

The array of arguments used to sell a motive or justify motivated courses of action is enshrined in what Mills calls a "vocabulary of motives." He writes,

> In many social actions, others must agree, tacitly or explicitly. ...Diplomatic choice of motive is part of the attempt to motivate acts for other members in a situation. Such pronounced motives undo snarls and integrate social actions (1940:907).

Motive, then, has utility in synthesizing public opinion, promoting social harmony, and justifying social control. Shared motive is essential for shared identity and is indispensable in the creation and maintenance of national identity.

Motives are hierarchically ordered and operate at all levels of social relationships. Individuals subscribe to multiple motives and their attendant vocabularies, encompassing a network that includes personal, familial, religious, political, and national motives. Shared motives identify individuals, groups, and nationalities to themselves and others. By definition, there are no universal motives because implicit in the concept of motive is challenge or opposition that elicits an explicit response. Vocabularies of motive are created to justify motivated action to someone else.

Mills linked his concept of motive formation and vocabulary to George Herbert Mead and the Symbolic Interactionist school of social thought. Consequently it is commonly identified with the socialization of individuals and used in analysis of micro-level subjects. I am extending the theory to macro subjects, in particular to nations and their presses. [1] In The Sociological Imagination," Mills himself advises, "In choosing national social structure as our generic working unit, we are adopting a suitable level of generality: one that enables us... to include the structural forces obviously involved in many details and troubles of human conduct today (1959:135).

The Second Premise: Nations and their press systems subscribe to three primary vocabularies of motive--survival, ideology, and market, one of which predominates at any given time.

The second premise is that all nation states are driven primarily by one of three motives at any given time, although all nations subscribe to all three and seek to make them compatible. These primary motives are survival, ideology, and market. They are hierarchically ordered, survival being the most fundamental. However, when survival is not threatened, either of the other motives assumes priority.

Behavioral characteristics of governments and press systems are simultaneously determined by and agents for primary motives--government being central to motive formulation, the press being more active in promulgation. Both serve as the nation's main guardians of the motive vocabulary, thus justifying acts and attitudes to domestic and foreign challengers--real and apparent. In the following paragraphs I present and explain the three primary motives to which all modern nations subscribe to varying degrees.

Survival. The first motive of all nations is survival. Across the globe and throughout history, governments and those who govern have identified their own self-perpetuation with the perpetuation of the governed. Threats to the rulers, government, or nation are seldom differentiated from threats to the citizenry. Nations whose existence is subject to acute military challenge by foreign foes or whose leadership is threatened by domestic rivals give priority to this motive. Similarly, national survival may be challenged by economic backwardness or decline, frequently attributed to foreign exploitation. The latter view is expressed by Peter Worsley, who, in addressing the economic problems confronting many former colonies, traces underdevelopment to capitalist economic tyranny and usurpation of resources. In The Three Worlds, he writes:

> [Third World] underdevelopment, today, is not a natural condition, but an unnatural one, a social state which is the product of history; not a passive condition, but the consequence of conscious action; not something that just happened, governed by the logic of an impersonal system, but something that was done to people by other people (1984:3).

The main tenet of the survival vocabulary is: only the government can ensure our survival. Attendant values include loyalty to government and rulers, national identity,

and social cohesion. Although survival is the underlying motive for all nations and all assume vulnerability, not all have their survival challenged to the same degree or with equal consistency. Consequently, nations whose existence is not imminently threatened have the luxury of making either of the other two motives salient much of the time.

Ideology. Challenge is the catalyst and condition of motive formulation and only ideologies that elicit challenge acquire the strength of motive. Thus, not all ideologies become motives. Nations motivated primarily by ideology perceive all other ideologies as challenge.

Challenge is endemic to Marxism-Leninism, Christianity, Islam, and most other religions and twentieth-century causes, because they are utopian or counterintuitive to prevailing market values. Basic tenets of economic and social equity and "love thy neighbor" call for self-sacrifice. Opposition frequently appears on both domestic and foreign fronts. It might be argued that at the present time racial tolerance and sexual equality are counterintuitive, moralistic ideologies from a market perspective.

The main premises of the ideology vocabulary of motive are: only strict adherence to the official ideology can prevent the erosion of ideals that will result in the triumph of ideological values antithetical to ours. The judgment of those who guard and interpret the ideology cannot be questioned. Ideological leaders prevail over political leaders or may preside over both ideology and government.

Ideologically motivated vocabularies are incongruous with many market values because their enforcement is dependent upon conformity and social control. Transition to the survival motive involves expansion of or retreat from ideological motive vocabulary; however, both survival and ideological motives share the basic tenets of cohesion and social conformity.

Market. The prevailing motive driving industrialized capitalist nations is the protection, maintenance, and growth of their market economies. Challenge to this motive on a global scale is issued by non-market-oriented countries. However, the vocabulary's most efficacious argument on the home front is that government constitutes the primary

threat to the market.

Foreign and domestic challenges inform a vocabulary of motive which can be summarized as: only the private enterprise system can optimize the economic prosperity and well-being for the majority of our citizenry.

Pluralism of thought and opinion, personal freedom and initiative, democracy, and individualism are glorified in the vocabulary of market motive, since they serve to catalyze innovation, competition, and consumerism, and undermine strong government. These attendant values are compatible with the market motive. The market motive differs markedly from non-economic-based ideologies because it encourages pluralistic thinking and tolerance for various value systems. One example is Christianity, many of whose tenets are at odds with market's attendant values of individualism and free will. Picard cogently presents the argument that capitalism is inherently contradictory to democracy and claims that "Capitalism sets up structural barriers to the achievement of true democracy and true equality among citizens" (1985:4). In practice, capitalism's tolerance for divergent views has fragmented their impact and has resulted in a tendency for alternative value systems to compromise their beliefs to accommodate market norms. To some degree, however, it can be seen that accommodation has been mutual.

When a market nation's survival is imperiled by foreign opposition, motive can change rapidly to survival, and if the reorientation is sustained over a sufficient period of time, attendant market values are elevated to the level of ideological motive (e.g., "keeping the world safe for democracy.") Market values espousing individual freedoms are replaced with values of social cohesion and loyalty to government and leaderhip. [2] Nations motivated primarily by market are seldom able to sustain an ideological motive over a long period of time, because of inherent contradiction. Pluralism and individual freedom are not compatible with overarching ideologies dependent upon social conformity and control.

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Identifying these three primary motives as the major determinants of press behavior

and values fundamentally alters conceptualizations presented in previous world press discussions. Most notable is the omission of explicit identification of Marxism-Leninism or Soviet communism and the addition of the more general motive of ideology. Also I identify market as a primary motive, a designation used by Altschull, but avoided by both Siebert et al. and Hachten. Both points, I believe, merit further explanation before proceeding.

The decision to not limit ideological motive to Marxism-Leninism was consciously made in an attempt to free the model from national, political, and temporal constraints. I argue that it is the not the specific content of a pervasive utopian ideology that produces its effects, but the accompanying behavior it rationalizes and justifies--i.e., conformity, social cohesion, social control, and intolerance for opposing ideologies. If we consider the motivation of a fundamentalist religious state, we see that the same basic behavior and attitudes are called for and justified as adherence to Marxist-Leninist ideology, although the content of the two ideologies is vastly different. It may be argued that Germany in World War II was motivated primarily neither by survival nor market, but by ideology. Although the content of that ideology was antithetical to Marxism-Leninism, the vocabulary of motive used to justify government and press behavior was basically the same as that in the Soviet Union in the 1970s.

Selection of the term "market" is warranted because it most objectively identifies the distinguishing characteristic of that part of the world whose press systems usually are labeled by Westerners as libertarian or free. The roots of capitalism, which I consider synonymous with market, were well established in the 16th century in Western Europe. The enormity, if not the value, of captalism's impact on world thought and institutions is not disputed. Because of its pervasiveness, the market motive cannot be identified with a single nation, continent, or hemisphere.

The Third Premise: Nations and their press systems vacillate continually from one prevailing primary motive in the direction of one or both of the other two.

The third premise of this theory is that nations and their press systems are dynamic,

engaged in a state of perpetual flux. As a consequence, no national press system exhibits the "pure" characteristics associated with any single motive. Adoption of a different primary motive accompanies radical and gradual social change, either as agent or response. Changes in motive and vocabularies of motive serve to catalyze and accommodate social change. Perinbanayagam argues that "to change vocabularies of motives is to change identities of many types and to change identities that are considered crucial to the maintenace of a particular social order is to change the social order itself" (1967:66).

The Triangle of Motives

To illustrate these theoretical premises and their interaction, I propose a visual model consisting of a triangle of primary motives, whose three defining points represent survival, ideology, and market. Governments, societies, and press systems move along and within the perimeter of the triangle, though not necessarily in tandem. In unstable nations or in unstable times, press, government, and society tend to be out of sync. Although the triangle may be useful in conceptualizing political, economic, and social change, here I confine its application to press systems.

The motive triangle provides an analytical framework that takes into account the constant fluidity and frequent ambiguity of press policy and behavior. Although we identify press systems by prevailing motive, specific behaviors may deviate in response to other primary motives. The behavior range of more stable press systems is usually confined to one of the two sides of the motive triangle that originates from the point of prevailing motive, whereas others are tugged in all three directions simultaneously.

Figure 1 represents a comparative appraisal of press system behavior for countries A, B, and C at a given time. The press system of market-motivated country X is characterized at different times by points X_{1945}, X_{1965}, X_{1985}, shown in Figure 2A. The subscript notation system presented somewhat facetiously by Wendell Johnson in People in Quandaries, has utility in designating changing press behavior for

different time and events (1946). In conceptualizing press response to multiple events or in typifying press behavior over long periods of time, identifying and locating press systems within larger motive zones may be appropriate. A profile of X's changing press system is summarized by the shaded portion (Figure 2B).

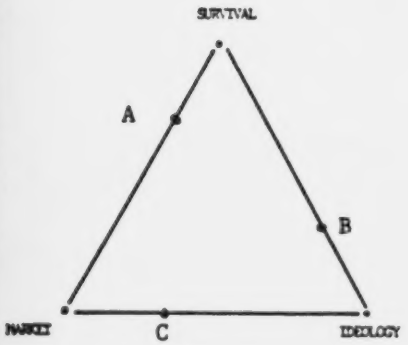

Fig. 1

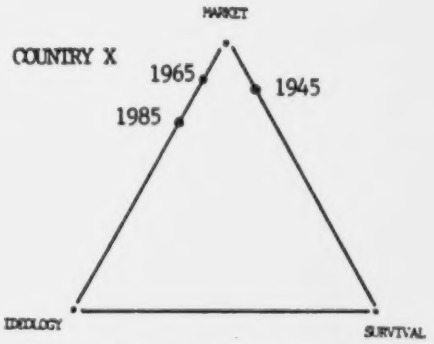

Fig. 2A

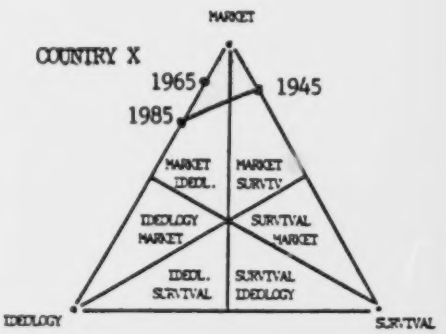

Fig. 2B

In contrast to existing typologies which concentrate on the historical and philosophical roots of a few powerful ideals, the focus of this paradigm is on their idiosyncratic application in a multiplicity of contexts. This concept is consistent with the third premise, which stipulates that modification and change are ongoing processes. This hermeneutical perspective in no way diminishes the influences of political, economic, and social philosophies, but it reduces the relevance of their origin in a rapidly-changing world where, as McLuhan states so simply, "[t]ime has ceased, and 'space' has vanished" (1967:63). Using Japan as illustration of a market-motivated nation, the indirect influence of Adam Smith and John Locke pales in comparison to the direct impact of US occupation in the aftermath of World War II. The geographical illogic of classifying Japan as a Western nation for the sake of a tidy typology need not be argued.

In examining the world's press systems, it seems to me we have been asking the wrong question. "What type is it?" restricts the answer to those categories determined by the typology we have accepted. "What motivates it?" on the other hand, opens a wide vista

of response predicated on the assumption that each system is supported by its own combinations of intrinsic logic, culture, history, and goals.

PRESS CHARACTERISTICS RESULTING FROM MOTIVES

Shared Characteristics

I support Altschull's view that today press systems throughout the world share many characteristics. I propose the follow commonalities, largely derived from his listing (1984:298).

1. All nations profess a belief in free expression. They identify the press as the primary vehicle for free expression;

2. In all press systems, the press's first allegiance is to those who finance the press, although first allegiance is said to be to the people.

3. All press systems are utilized to support the prevailing national motive, i.e., the status quo. The vocabulary of motive informs press content and is employed to glorify and justify press behavior;

4. The function of the press is to provide "news," in order to inform, educate, and persuade the public within the boundaries set by the prevailing motive vocabulary;

5. Press behavior and effectiveness is influenced by the level of technology and economic resources available;

6. Public access is allowed to those whose message content is judged by media executives to fall within the definition of "what is news," although resources and logistics frequently present unsurmountable barriers to the mass media.

7. Press systems view systems driven by primary motives other than their own with distaste. Often they dismiss these vocabularies as myth or subterfuge.

Coincident behavior observed in press systems driven by different motives are either ignored or attributed to the adoption of one's own motive. When a press system's behavior deviates from its own prevailing motive, such acts are labeled aberrant. [See note 2.] If prolonged or consistent deviation from motive occurs in behavior, the press is instrumental in ushering in change and creating a different vocabulary of motive.

The characteristics set forth below play a more peripheral role in the conceptualization of this theory than they do in the typological constructions of Siebert, et al., Hachten, and Altschull. This is because no national press system is driven by any single primary motive, but rather exhibits characters of at least two and

frequently all three primary motives. Characteristics outlined below are "ideal types," derived from empirical observation of press system behaviors dominated by each of the primary motives. Also it is assumed that specific press characteristics are susceptible to variation over time in response to technological, economic, cultural, and social change, whereas basic motive definitions are more likely to remain constant.

In characterizing survival-, ideology-, and market-motivated national press system behavior, I confine comparison to primary motive, a statement of vocabulary of motive as it applies to the press, and six variables. These are: what is news?; ownership and financing; control of mass media; control of domestic "small" media; attitudes toward entertainment, art, and advertising; and attitudes toward foreign news and foreign journalists. Even though no national press system functions solely under a single motive, examples of systems whose behavior and values approximate "pure" motive characteristics are cited at the end of each summary.

Survival-Motivated Characteristics

Motive. To build, preserve, and defend the nation and government.

Vocabulary of Motive. Only the concerted action of the government, the people, and the press can reduce or remove the threat to the nation and ensure its survival. Government leaders are primary protectors of the nation and must be supported. The press must be utilized to rally support for the leadership and strengthen the resolve and morale of the people. The press is government's partner.

What Is News?. New is information, either domestic or foreign in origin, that does not undermine the survival or development of the state, the government, or the morale of loyal citizens. Objectivity in selection or presentation of news relevant to state survival or development is not a goal. Timeliness in the reporting of information is not a priority. Information that is positive and pragmatic is disproportionately represented in press content.

Ownership and Financing. Ownership of the media may be either state or private or combinations of both. The distinction is irrelevant because of the ubiquity of state

control. When the threat to survival is economic, lack of resources severely limits private ownership and inhibits press diversity and effectiveness even when media are government-owned or subsidized. Media operations may be financed in whole or part by the government and/or by advertising and sales revenues.

Control of National Mass Media. Pre- and post-censorship may be exercised by the state, accompanied by self-censorship by the media. Information prepared and provided by the state comprises a substantial proportion of press content. The state to close down press organizations, jail and punish editors and journalists, and confiscate publications--either by law or fiat.

Control of Small Media. Little effort is exerted to control or proscribe local press activity. Rural and local press networks even may be encouraged to utilize available technologies, such as newsletters, audio and video cassettes, criers, and even drums, to assist in horizontal communication of information that falls within the definition of "what is news".

Entertainment, Art, and Advertising. Foreign or domestic advertising, entertainment, and art generally are not subject to careful scrutiny by government authorities, their content being viewed as irrelevant to the primary survival values.

Attitudes Toward Foreign News and Foreign Journalists. The government controls entry and access of foreign journalists and legally can order expulsion, detainment, and imprisonment. Incoming news about international events is of little concern. But strenuous efforts are expended to manage outgoing news and to curtail internal reporting of domestic news, particularly by foreign international broadcast services.

Examples. Uganda, 1976-1988; People's Republic of China, June 1989.

<u>Ideology-Motivated Characteristics</u>

Motive. To build, preserve, and defend the ideology.

Vocabulary of Motive. The press is charged with propagating and popularizing the ideology, demonstrating its application to everyday life, and supporting ideological leaders and their political agents. It must lead the fight to illuminate ideological

deficiencies at home and demonstrate the failures of other ideologies, including revisionist ideologies, abroad. The press is the servant of the ideology and, by extension, the government.

What Is News?. News is information that propagates and illustrates the benefits of the chosen ideology. Objectivity is negatively identified with relativism and vacillation that weakens the chosen ideology. Timeliness of information is less important than ideological correctness, which is equated with accuracy. Information that is positive and elevates morale is disproportionately represented in press content.

Ownership and Financing. The press is state owned, controlled, and financed. Advertising is informational in purpose and does not constitute a significant source of revenue.

Control of National Mass Media. The press is an agent of the ideological/governmental leadership and is under its control. Hierarchical editorial responsibility and the largely homogenous ideological views of journalists supplement and mitigate the role of official censor. When ideological norms are violated, punishment of those responsible ranges from reprimand to loss of job and exclusion from the profession. In extreme and persistent cases, exile and imprisonment can be legally imposed.

Control of Local and Small Media. Local mass media is controlled as tightly as national media. Individual or private utilization of even low-technology mass media is highly suspect and, accordingly, is severely restricted. Those determined to communicate information and ideas in opposition to the chosen idology must resort to illegal, underground means.

Entertainment, Art, and Advertising. Advertising, art, and entertainment, whether domestic or foreign in origin, are highly suspect. Media fare provided by countries that do not ascribe to the chosen ideology is generally forbidden.

Attitudes Toward Foreign News and Foreign Journalists. The leadership controls entry and access of foreign journalists and is legally authorized to order expulsion,

detainment, and imprisonment. Incoming news about international events and outgoing reports on domestic news are perceived as equal threats. Internal reporting and commentary on domestic events and national affairs, particularly by foreign international broadcast services, is particularly objectionable.

Examples. USSR, 1928-1940, 1964-1982; Iran, 1980-

Market-Motivated Characteristics

Motive. To protect, maintain, and encourage private enterprise and free-market economic activity.

Vocabulary of Motive. The press serves private enterprise and protects it and the public from government. Government seeks to curtail individual rights and inhibit the personal freedoms which everyone possesses as a birthright. The press is identified as a "marketplace" of ideas and a watchdog on government.

What Is News?. News is any timely information, either domestic or foreign in origin, which can be marketed profitably to the public. This includes information that helps those engaged in market activities function more effectively. News is also any information that tracks the activity of government or government leaders. Information that emphasizes the unusual, the exceptional--and, therefore, the negative--is highly marketable and is disproportionately represented in press content.

Ownership and Financing. Press ownership is private and may be vested in domestic, foreign, or transnational companies or conglomerates. Advertising is the major form of generating revenues and profits, supplemented by direct sales of media products.

Control of National Mass Media. The market and media owners exert primary control over content in response to advertising revenues, audience preference, and their own judgment. Governmental control of the domestic press is limited to the provision of legal protection against libel and limited authority over the distribution of broadcast bands and channels. Information prepared by the government and by private enterprises and provided to the press is used at the discretion of media gatekeepers.

Control of Local and Small Media. The government does not attempt to control or limit

local or small media activity. Availability of comparatively sophisticated technologies in most of today's market-driven countries encourages a broad spectrum of specialized small-media efforts, particularly in the print medium. These are targeted generally at small, specific audiences and are restricted only by economic viability. Individual communication is not monitored or otherwise controlled, even when the message opposes the prevailing market-motive vocabulary.

Entertainment, Art, and Advertising. All media forms from domestic and foreign sources are viewed as products to be sold. All are permitted, but selection is based on predicted marketability.

Attitudes Toward Foreign News and Foreign Journalists. Foreign journalists enjoy the same rights as domestic journalists and foreign news is subject only to its saleability to the public.

Examples. USA, 1802-1860, 1890-1914.

APPLICATION OF THE DYNAMIC THEORY AND THE MODEL

Case Summaries of Survival-Motivated Press Systems

The majority of the world's nations and a preponderance of its people are served by press systems motivated primarily by survival vocabularies. Developing nations are in this group as a result of their poverty relative to more prosperous industrialized nations. Economic havoc invites military opportunism and many nations are twice-afflicted. In addition, all nations engaged in on-going internal and external warfare are likely to be driven by this motive. Survival-motivated press systems correspond most closely to Four Theories' authoritarian, Hachten's authoritarian and developmental, and Altschull's advancing types.

Singapore. The prosperous island city-state of Singapore is described by journalist Ian Buruma as a capitalist enclave of "suburban condominums with swimming pools; of shopping complexes and hygienic market stall restaurants; of recreation centers, cricket clubs, green lawns." (1988:25). Nevertheless, Buruma concludes, the capitalist paradise

"is also a city of fear."

Fear is motivated by three articulated and perceived threats. These are encroachment by the surrounding jungle, fear that cultural hybridization will fragment a still undefined national identity, and threat of Marxist takeover.

Though the press system is well developed and utilizes state-of-the-art technology, press behavior is centered upon building social cohesion, maintaining order among the people, and generally working as the government's partner in development. Newspapers are privately owned by Singaporeans, but must be registered and licensed by the government annually. Singaporean law provides for the imposition of fines and/or imprisonment for "printing, selling, distributing, or possessing an unlicensed paper" (Parker, 1982:789). Censorship is frequently imposed by the Ministry of Culture.

In 1987 four foreign-based magazines and newspapers containing articles critical of the government had their circulations slashed. A Singaporean journalist was detained for a month when she was arrested along with 22 persons accused of participating in a Marxist conspiracy (Committee for the Protection of Journalists, 1988:38).

Despite the fact that Singapore has a market-based economy and a seemingly stable government, the press policy is motivated primarily by survival values (Figure 3).

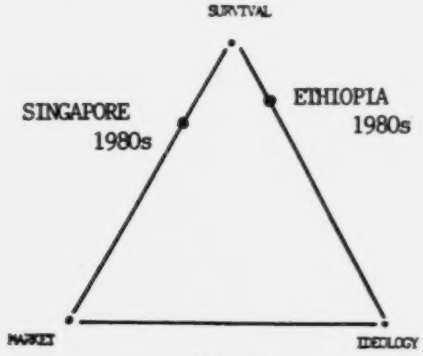

Fig. 3

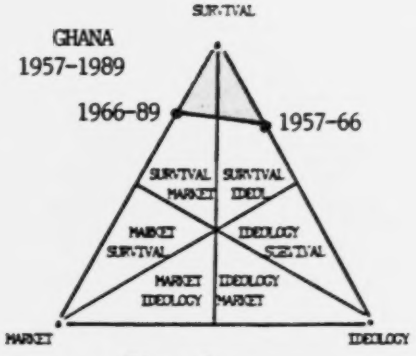

Fig. 4

Ethiopia. This war-torn, drought-afflicted, and poverty-stricken country likewise perceives its primary struggle as one of survival. Survival prevails over its other primary motive, which is socialist ideology. Lack of economic resources severely

impacts all of its institutions, including the press.

In 1974, Emperor Haile Selassie was overthrown and a provisional Marxist-Leninist government was established. The revolution ushered in a tumultuous period of change, spearheaded by land reform and nationalization of industry.

Although historically the Ethiopian press has been dominated by government, control has been tightened further by the government. Under Selassie Christian missionary radio services, publications, and facilities supplemented press infrastructure. These media have since either disappeared or come under government control. All media are state owned and operated. In 1982 these included three daily newspapers, four nondailies, eight magazines, two radio stations and one television station for a population of more than 30 million. (Fisher, 1982).

Overt censorship is scarcely needed because of the close link between press and state. Although the content of the press is permeated by Marxist-Leninist ideology, the press as an institution is given less priority than in other ideologically-motivated countries. This is due to the fact that government attention and funding is compelled by more basic survival-motivated efforts, such as defense, development of agriculture and industry, and transportation.

Ethiopia is an example of a country whose press system is commonly characterized as communist, when, in fact, the behavior of the press is determined more by its survival needs, than by Marxist ideology, as shown in Figure 4.

Ghana. The first British colony in Black Africa to gain independence, Ghana, formerly the Gold Coast, became an independent republic in 1960 under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah. Although at the time of independence in 1957 Ghana was economically and culturally among Africa's most developed nations, the tasks of development and the threat of internal coup made survival the primary goal of the fledgling state. Espousing Marxist-Leninist ideology, Nkrumah brought most of the media under government ownership, established the Guinea Press Ltd. to stifle adversary journalism, implemented censorship, and jailed opposition editors, an action unprecedented during 113 years of

British colonial rule (Taylor-Appiah, 1989:10).

In a speech before the Pan-African Union of Journalists in 1963, Nkrumah said:

> It is of our revolutionary credo that within the competitive system of capitalism the press cannot function in accordance with a strict regard for the sacredness of facts and that it therefore should not remain in private hands.

The Nkrumah regime was overthrown by military coup in February 1966 and new leaders vowed to return the media to principles inherited from British institutions. Censorship was officially lifted and the new president announced that the regime was determined to "open a new page in the journalistic ethics of Ghana." He said media would be free to express political criticism "provided it was constructive."

Shortly afterward newspapers loyal to Nkrumah were shut down. Since Nkrumah's ouster, three military and two civilian regimes have continued to close down press organizations, jail and punish editors and journalists, confiscate publications, and exercise other forms of state control. The revival of private ownership, advertising, and intermittent displays of tolerance for some press criticism indicates a move toward market motives, although survival issues continue to dominate a nation plagued with economic and political instability. Vacillation between the three press motivations since 1957 in Ghana is represented in Figure 4 (Taylor-Appiah, 1989).

Case Summaries of Ideology-Motivated Press Systems

Nations and governments predicated on ideologies that deny self-interest and call for utopian goals tend to be volatile, requiring constant reiteration and reinforcement of ideals via the press. The potential for state control of the press is, therefore, strongest in ideology-motivated systems. Because of their volatility and, frequently, their ephemerality, examination of press performance and policy by national time frames is particularly important. Ideologically-motivated press systems are inclusive of Four Theories' Soviet communist, Hachten's communist and revolutionary, and Altschull's advancing types.

Soviet Union. For decades the ideologically-motivated press system of the Soviet Union has been singled out by press observers in capitalist countries for concentrated

attack. Criticism has covered a broad range of charges from censorship to stultifying dullness.

By the turn of the 20th century, all revolutionary groups viewed the underground press as an essential weapon in their struggle to overthrow the tsarist government. None utilized it more effectively than the Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin. The Bolsheviks, like most revolutionaries, were motivated almost totally by ideology.

When the party came to power in November 1917, survival quickly began to vie with ideology as dominant motive. Presses were seized and nationalized and strict censorship was imposed. Despite formal decrees, total suppression of the opposition press was not achieved for several years and debate over press freedom and policy continued during much of the 1920s.

Only when Stalin had eliminated his competitors within the Communist party and emerged as head of the government and party did the pre-Revolutionary ideological motive become clearly dominant over survival. By the late 1920s, the press was institutionalized at all levels, from local to national, under the press departments of the Communist Party.

The horrors of World War II necessitated a dramatic change in the balance of motives that actually lessened central control of the press. Ideology became less salient as survival assumed the upper hand, intensified by Stalin's personal paranoia. Survival values would continue to dominate the nation and the press through the post-war period.

Stalin's death and the subsequent denunciation of Stalin by Nikita Khrushchev in 1956 ushered in a return to an ideologically-motivated press and shortlived "thaw" that can be attributed primarily to the leader's personal literary tastes. Under the regime of Leonid Brezhnev, the ideological motive was strongly reasserted, approaching the single-mindedness of pre-revolutionary times without its attendant zeal or inspiration.

The first tentative steps toward market values began under the short-lived leadership of Yuri Andropov following Brezhnev's death. Mikhail Gorbachev's glasnost' policy both embodies and disseminates a new national vocabulary of motive which seeks to rebuild the

economy by incorporating intrinsic market values, such as democracy, individual initiative, and pluralistic thinking, into the still prevailing ideological vocabulary.

Shifts in the Soviet press system over the years are graphically illustrated on the motive triangle shown in Figure 5.

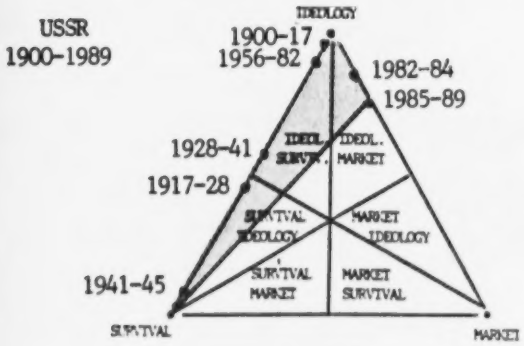

Fig. 5

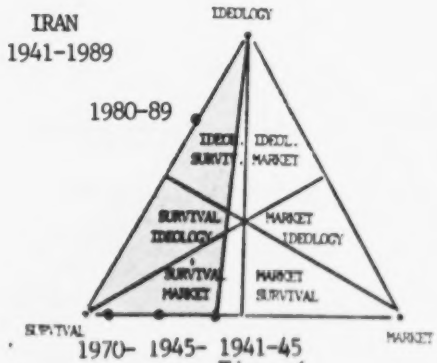

Fig. 6

Iran. From the collapse of the Reza Shah regime in 1941 to the present, the press system has been driven by three different primary motives, as graphically summarized in Figure 6. During the period of wartime occupation, 1941-1945, 150 newspapers and periodicals appeared in print in Iran. In Teheran alone 50 newspapers and periodicals were published. Many print organizations were liquidated for lack of funds, several were supported by political organizations, and some were suspended under terms of martial law. But the majority were profit-motivated and financially dependent upon domestic and foreign sales, advertising, and in some cases blackmail and extortion.

Under the reign of Shahanshah, the last shah, press controls were gradually tightened as the government sought to retain power in the face of growing civil discontent and threat of super-power intervention. Press legislation was enacted that outlawed small-circulation newspapers and magazines, specified educational requirements for journalists, and imposed state licensing of reporters. In 1976 the government closed down 36 dailies and weeklies and entrusted press censorship to SAVAK, the secret police organization, and another imperial minstry. International news coverage was severely curtailed and most government news was provided by the official Pars News Agency.

Nevertheless, at the time of the Revolution, the country had an active privately-owned press consisting of 20 dailies, 21 weeklies, and almost 70 magazines, some of which enjoyed government subsidies. Radio and television were government owned and controlled (Kurian, 1982:1070).

Many attribute the success of the Islamic Revolution of 1979 to the Shah's failure to pay sufficient attention to small media, in particular to the cirulation of audio cassettes of Ayatollah Khomeini's speeches from exile, and to BBC shortwave broadcasts into Iran (Bigdely, 1989).

Khomeini's ascension to power ushered in a brief period of unrestricted print and broadcast activity. As the Ayatollah consolidated power, however, radio and television were the first organizations to come under theocratic control, operated by the semi-autonomous government authority Voice and Vision of Islamic Republic of Iran. Subsequently, press censorship was reimposed and scores of newspapers were closed and more than 3,000 of the country's journalists were imprisoned, lost thir jobs, or went into exile as the clergy took over the press. In 1979 the Ayatollah banned audio cassettes and simultaneously banned music, labeling it "no better than opium."

Newspapers continue to be privately owned, but are heavily subsidized by government, sharply reducing advertising. Large circulations are supplemented by direct-mailings of official proclamations on important issues. Although the press system is dominated by ideology, survival motives still color press policy and behavior, fueled by war with neighboring Iraq and hostile relations with many other nations. (Bigdely, 1989).

Case Summary of Market-Motivated Press Systems

Existing American typologies tend to go to special pains to differentiate between levels and subdivisions of that category of which we are most knowledgeable, the market-motivated system. Siebert et al. identify both the libertarian and the social responsibility theory; Hachten recognizes the Western concept, but makes note of other subdivisions, including democratic socialist (Picard, 1982-83:27; 1985) and democratic participant (McQuail, 1983:96-97). Altschull labels the type as market.

The multiple breakdowns are appropriate because familiarity has made scholars aware that simple typologies are too crude to account for the variations that we perceive in the press systems of capitalist nations. I sense that similar gradations are called for in analysis of other systems. The remedy offered by the dynamic theory is the flexibility to locate press systems between or within the conceptual triangle of motives. In the case of most systems motivated primarily by market, the vector moves in the direction of ideology, with occasional forays into survival territory as illustrated in the examples that follow.

The United States The United States is recognized as the leader of the capitalist world, and its press system occupies a point on the triangle of motives closest to the market extreme. Virtually all press organizations are privately owned and profits motivate press behavior. The vocabulary of motives incorporates Milton's declaration in the Aeropagitica, that truth will triumph in a free and open "marketplace of ideas." Since the turn of the 20th century, it has become more and more apparent that this assumption does not require the press to be fair, unbiased, compassionate, complete, or accurate.

However, American press and society has come to place increasing value on fairness, objectivity, accuracy, compassion, completeness, and responsibility to society. This philosophy, usually labeled social responsibility in analyses of American media, mitigates and humanizes market-driven press performance.

Other American ideological motives work against the concept of "tyranny of the majority," an inevitable corollary of the market vocabulary. Thus the American press subscribes to fairness doctrines and anti-discrimination philosophies. For instance, because elite tastes and preferences are not served by market-oriented television organizations and because access to television, in comparison to print or radio, is particularly constrained by the enormity of economic investment required, the U.S. government partially funds the Public Television System, intended to serve elite audiences. In these and similar ways, US press behavior combines both ideological and

market motives, though the latter dominates (See Figure 7).

Occasionally situations arise of varying duration in which survival becomes a primary motive. For the United States, such aberrations are usually created in response to military threat. Survival-motive vocabulary was employed by President Reagan to justify the government-imposed "press blackout" during the US invasion of Grenada. [Note 2.]

Western Europe. Throughout the capitalist nations of Western Europe and Japan, government ownership or subsidy of print and, particularly, ownership of broadcast organizations is fairly commonplace. The interface between government and press is generally greater than in the United States.

Although clearly market-dominated, these press systems also are influenced by ideological motives that justify behavior contrary to market vocabulary. Picard, in The Press and the Decline of Democracy, outlines ideological concepts that define the "democratic socialist press theory." He writes:

> [C]itizens in many Western democratic nations have permitted their governments to intervene in the marketplace of ideas. They have allowed the governments to take a variety of steps to maintain and promote media and message plurality, to ensure press accountability to society, to provide public access to the press, and to open avenues for the public and journalists to participate in managment decisions (1985:26).

Democratic participant theory, as explained by McQuail, "has to do with the right to relevant information, the right to answer back, the right to use the means of communication for interaction in small-scale settings of community, interest group, sub-culture" (1987:122).

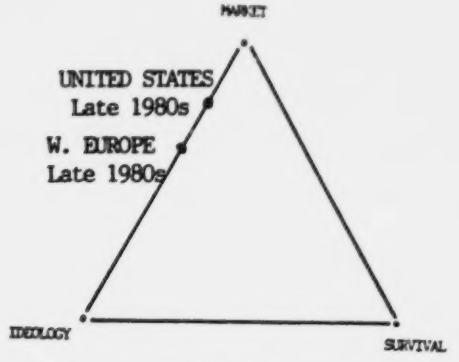

Fig. 7

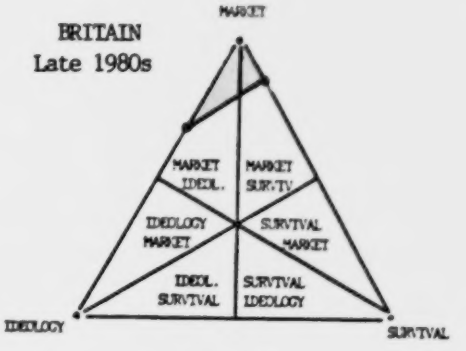

Fig. 8

I suggest that these philosophies embody ideological motives that are pulling these press systems away from traditional market values, as illustrated in Figure 7.

Britain. Britain is also a nation motivated primarily by market, but more ambiguously so than the United States. Freedom of the press and freedom of speech are safeguarded in British culture and Parliamentary law, but not in a legal code analogous to the US Bill of Rights. Traditional attitudes differentiating social classes, though diminishing, provide ideological justification for elites' guiding the media in order to avoid the "lowering" of tastes to meet market-determined demand. This is particularly true in television, which was state-owned until 1954 and is still subsidized by a state tax on television sets. Britain also is motivated by moralist ideologies described above in the discussion of Western Europe.

In the late 1980s, a diverse and vocal coalition of press advocates is accusing the Margaret Thatcher government of exerting "authoritarian rule" over the press. Among issues being cited are the banning of anti-government books, attempts to extend government control over the BBC, Parliamentary tightening of an official secrets acts, and debate over a protection-of-privacy bill which would limit the excesses of England's cheekier tabloids.

An explanation for these vacillations is provided by New York Times Magazine editor James Atlas, who writes,

> Indeed, it's the doings of the I.R.A., I suspect, that have impelled the Prime Minister to strengthen her hand. Governments have always been obsessed with national security....What is happening in England now is a response to an actual enemy within. There's a war going on (1989:38).

If government critics and other observers are correct, the British press in the late 1980s is being driven by three motives simultaneously. Figure 8 summarizes the complex interaction of motives affecting the British press in the late 1980s.

CONCLUSIONS

Having explained and demonstrated the thinking that has shaped the formulation of

this theory, I would like, in conclusion, to specifically reiterate my motives. I have been motivated by the need in our mass communication discipline for an analytical tool that at least purports to be value neutral. Secondly I have been motivated by the events of our convulsively-changing century to construct a framework that is not time-bound or historically determinist. And finally, I am motivated by the conflict and inequities of this embattled planet to attempt to expand our understanding and tolerance of each other and reduce our propensity to evaluate world press behavior by a single national norm.

ENDNOTES

1. The utility of motives in macro-analysis is treated in a growing number of theoretical studies. R.S. Perinbanayagam, among others, advances the application of motive in establishing religious and national identities in "Towards a Theory of Social Change," (1974:68) and in subsequent works. Kurt Lewin's theory of "quasi-stationary social equilibrium," elaborated most fully in "Frontiers in Group Dynamics: Concept, Method and Reality in Social Science" (1947) is consistent and compatible with Mills's treatment of motive, though terminology differs.

2. John P. Hewitt and Randall Stokes introduce the concept of "disclaimer" as a means of "aligning actions" to preserve situational definitions of motive "in the face of disruptive lines of conduct." They continue, "At a broader level, it is suggested that cultural continuity rests in large part upon such aligning actions" (1975:1).

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CHARACTERISTICS OF SURVIVAL-, IDEOLOGY-, AND MARKET-MOTIVATED PRESS SYSTEMS

VARIABLES	SURVIVAL-MOTIVATED SYSTEMS	IDEOLOGY-MOTIVATED SYSTEMS	MARKET-MOTIVATED SYSTEMS
MOTIVE	To build, preserve, and defend the nation and the government	to build, preserve, and defend the ideology	to protect, maintain, and encourage free-market economic activity
VOCABULARY OF MOTIVES	The press is government's partner.	The press is the servant and illuminator of the ideology.	The press produces a marketable commodity and serves as a check on government.
WHAT IS NEWS?	Domestic or foreign information that does not undermine the survival or development of the state	Information that supports and reifies the ideology and educates the citizenry on its tenets	Information that is marketable to the public and serves as a check on those in political power
OWNERSHIP AND FINANCING	Private and/or government-owned, government subsidies, advertising, sales	Government-owned and financed. Minimal, informational advertising	Privately-owned, dependent upon advertising and corporate revenues and sales
MASS MEDIA CONTROL	Censorship, control and punishment of journalists and media organizations by law or government fiat	Censorship, control and punishment of journalists and media organizations by law	Editorial judgment, corporate/publisher influence, advertiser and audience preference
LOCAL & SMALL MEDIA CONTROL	Minimal restrictions on local press. Small media (horizontal communication) encouraged	Local media subject to same controls as national media. Use of small media by individuals forbidden	No governmental controls over content of local media or individual access to small media
ENTERTAINMENT, ART, ADVERT.	Generally viewed as irrelevant; foreign sources allowed	Scrutinized for ideological correctness; foreign sources banned	Selection of foreign and domestic sources based on marketability and profitability
ATTITUDES TOWARD FOR. JOURN.	Access controlled. More restrictions on news going on than on news about other countries coming in	Access controlled. Same restrictions on news going out as on news coming in. All foreign sources suspect	Access generally non-restricted, except for expulsion and other government security measures that may be exercised against all non-citizens in extreme cases. Foreign news selection determined by marketability/profitability.